1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan 613 frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

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matter—she will bear her child in the new husband's home and wean it there. The child belongs, however, to the biological father (i.e. the first husband), and must be returned to him as soon as it is weaned. But how will the new husband regard that child? He is bound by tribal custom to treat it during the weaning period with the same care as he would his own, and if he displays ill-nature his new wife will promptly abandon him. If the child by the former husband dies the dead body is sent back to him as proof that it has really died.

A husband, therefore, takes every care to keep his wife contented, and he has studiously to cultivate her parents also. He visits them constantly with gifts, tobacco for the father and salt for the mother (the mother of his wife may not be living with the father of his wife, and he may therefore have to make separate visits to villages perhaps fifty miles apart). The more attractive his wife is, the more presents he must give. There is little question of adultery among the Katab. For no man would think of having sexual relations with the wife of a member of his own local group. The idea would be so repugnant as to be inconceivable. But a clansman of another subdivision may elope with a wife, and when this happens there is no remedy. The first husband cannot claim a refund of the bride-price; he merely hopes that one day his wife will return to him. If he were to demand the return of the bride-price, he would be repudiating his wife for ever; and in any case no Katab would ask for the return of a bride-price for a woman who had lived with him for a year. And so he proceeds to make good his loss by trying to abduct the wife of some other clansman (who does not belong to his own subdivision).

There is no doubt that the custom of sub-marriages plays a predominant part in the social life of a Katab, who may be said to spend the year endeavouring to retain a wife who suits him, or in working out the means by which he can obtain the wife of someone else. If he saves money it is with a view to contracting a sub-marriage, a barren investment if the woman leaves without even becoming enceinte.

Family Life and Occupations.—The Katab are agriculturists pure and simple; they have practically no industries. They farm rather more extensively than most pagan tribes, the average acreage per adult farmer ranging from four to six. A grown-up

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Morwa

582 same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe
614 are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

583 The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to
586 have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the house-work performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

583 Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains
587 come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form
428 of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

604 As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded
[431] with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee
604 payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among
597 the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

843 with a new husband, to demonstrate to her father (or guardian) that she was not pregnant, according to Kagoro tradition.

584 587 In general, secondary marriage with formal betrothal is negotiated with the utmost discretion, so that ideally the primary (or current, about-to-be-displaced secondary) husband is presented with a *fait accompli* when his wife takes up residence with a new husband. In practice, however, the husband often knows all too well the true situation, but he is enjoined to suppress any show of jealousy or anger, and instead to treat his rival with the utmost sympathy and respect. It must be stressed that a second marriage does not dissolve the first, and that a wife may return to prior husbands without particular formality.

583 587 Secondary marriage by capture appears to have occurred at least as often without the woman's consent as with: the village of the woman's prior husband usually responded with an attack on the village of the offender, but such a measure was likely to be more or less ineffective if the two villages were separated by one or more other villages, who might be inclined to discourage hostilities, and in the end the affair might be settled by the abductor legitimizing the marriage by payments to the girl's parents; when a wife was captured from a neighbouring village feuding might continue until the wife returned—or was returned—to her own parental compound or to her prior husband's village. Indeed, it appears that wives were taken in this way more frequently from Ataka and Kaje, among neighbouring tribes, who were in turn the major offenders against Kagoro, in this respect: it will be recalled that Kagoro took heads in these tribes. However, it appears that it was practised frequently enough among the ancestors of the groups which compose the present-day Kagoro community to have left its mark on the social structure: Smith conjectures that something like a "normal" *niendi* relationship between clans became in some cases *nendwang*, when one clan took by force a wife from the other.

● 586 587 As indicated already, marriage cannot be dissolved by any traditional means. Even should a woman's husband die, he is succeeded automatically by a kinsman, though she may choose his successor from among his eligible relatives, and, in fact, she may take up—or resume—residence with another husband when she has spent a "reasonable" period with her inheritor.

586 There have been changes in traditional procedures since Administration. Within the past generation, divorce has been enforced and, accordingly, secondary marriage—"serial polyandry", that is—has been forbidden. In an effort to reduce paternity disputes, the Moslem custom (*iddat*, *idda*, etc.) requiring a divorced woman to return to her parents for a period of celibacy lasting three months before consummating a new marriage has been introduced by Administration to replace indigenous practice described. It would appear that in those cases where the secondary suitor can afford to pay the fines, traditional procedures may be followed still; in other cases it seems that Kagoro are indifferent to the European definition of divorce, even when they adhere to the letter of the law.

835 727 587 Kagoro claim that incest between close biological kin is unheard of, though terrible to contemplate. They say also that incest between affines (a man and his brother's wife) was unknown before Administration. Before the advent of the British, a man captured by outsiders was, in effect, declared legally dead, and none, apparently had ever been known to return from captivity; the problem has now arisen of how to provide for the wives of men imprisoned for limited periods for offences against the Administration. The Kagoro solution has been, when the man's sentence is a considerable one, to permit the customary "inheritance" of his wives by his "heirs", all concerned submitting to ritual purification on his release from prison.

837 684 According to Smith, adultery could occur only with a man from another clan, presumably a *niendi* clan, though he fails to specify, since a member of a *nendwang* clan would be able to contract a secondary marriage, if attracted to a woman. Inter-clan adultery, where not witnessed, is said to be usually confessed by the

and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's "capture": friends of the husband "abduct" her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma

585 of marriage before leaving them alone together. The following morning the groom's mother gives a feast to the inmates of her own house, and a month later the bride's mother sends two calabashes of tuo to her son-in-law's house, whence he distributes them to his friends and to the elders of the village as proof that the marriage has taken place.

587 When a man marries a second time the above formula is omitted. He gives the girl's parents a hoe and 4,000 cowries, after which the girl goes to him of her own accord, but if she delays doing so for more than a year after the dower is paid he can claim it back.

586 Desertion is considered no crime, and if a woman leaves her husband soon after the marriage, the dower is refunded to him by his wife's parents, but if she has remained with him for four or five years he has no claim. Her new husband pays her parents a hoe and 4,000 cowries.

575 173 The difficulties that have arisen from this laxity of morals are met by the following device:

"As far as this district is concerned the idea of forming a 'Dodo' society originally started in the village of Agabi, a number of years ago. Two men were bewailing the fact that their wives were constantly running away from them and that their children were getting out of hand. They put their heads together to seek a remedy.

"Eventually they took a gourd from the 'Kukan Chikki' tree, and after scraping it hollow, placed some kind of parchment over its mouth. In the middle of the night this was blown with terrifying effect (the noise is very like that produced by a comb and piece of paper). The women were very frightened and hid themselves. They were subsequently told this was the voice [176] of the 'Dodo'—a mythical spirit well known in Haussaland—rebuking them for their misdeeds. The women all promised atonement.

"The news of the Agabi 'Dodo' soon spread and people came in from the neighbouring villages, curious to hear all about it. Men were let into the secret, but had to swear under penalty of death never to tell their women or children the real origin of this new-found power over them.

575 [344] "The 'Dodo' soon became universal in every village, and each had its own particular 'kurmi,' where 'Dodo' gatherings took place. This tended to still further impress and mystify the women. Only married men were eligible for election, and not until they had been married for two or three years.

"As a rule, initiation into the 'Dodo' society was reserved until such time as there were some ten or twenty young married men ready to be elected. Their wives were informed of the impending ceremony, and on the appointed day had to cook goats or chickens provided by the candidates. The cooked

3: Temple G-4 (no date) 1922 FF38 Katab FF38 Kagoro

When they are about ten years old boys are initiated in these mysteries. They are first shaved, greased and beaten, and are then taken to the sacred grove, but they may not yet drink with the men. They leave the grove and dance all night, and dancing and drinking goes on for another seven days, when they return to their houses, but they may not speak to a woman till another seven days have elapsed. 852

They do not marry until they are sixteen or eighteen years of age, their brides being three or four years younger. The procedure is for the suitor to give the girl's father from four to ten thousand cowries when he proposes. If he is accepted he adds one hoe, one goat, one dog and the flesh of another goat to the gift—an average example which varies according to the wealth of the contracting parties. Beer is prepared by his people, and taken on the wedding day to the bride's house, where drinking goes on for from one to ten days. On the first day the mother takes her daughter to the young man's house for a brief visit, and receives a complimentary present of 2,000 cowries or a hoe—later he comes to her house—and on the second day he takes his wife to his own house where she remains. There is intermarriage between certain tribes, *i.e.*, the Attakka, Moroa, Kaje and Katab, but a Kagoro man will prefer a maiden of his own or of the Attakka tribe, because the others refuse to clear grass for the farms. A virgin may only marry during the wet season, after the seed has been sown. At the end of the millet farming she puts on her married woman's costume and her husband celebrates the occasion by killing a dog and eating its head, liver, entrails and legs, while he gives the neck to those that helped him in courtship, and the remainder to his father-in-law. The blood of slaughtered beasts is always eaten, cooked with fat. If the wife is considered satisfactory her husband gives her mother another present. A girl has the right of refusal and can obtain a divorce, subject to her father's consent, for he retains the legal power to persuade her to go back to her husband, to leave him, or to marry her to someone else. He also has the right of possession over her children, unless her husband redeems them by payment of three goats each. This practice has been put down by the British Government. 582 585 591 252 586

Children are suckled for two or three years. Boys are named by their father and are circumcised, a very old custom. If a child proves unsound before it is about four years old, or sometimes later, it is thought to be a snake and may be thrown into water. Twins are considered very lucky. 862 304 553 845 847

A man's first wife has authority over subsequent wives and may even beat them, a right so fully recognised that, if these latter forget themselves so far as to retaliate, their parents give her beer. The women all eat together, helping themselves with their right hands, for men alone are allowed the use of spoons. 595 264

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

342 are thatched, sloping up at the back to an angle of forty-five [1168] degrees. A house is not re-occupied after the death of either of its owner or of his wife.

596 The family system is patriarchal, and the head of a house has absolute jurisdiction over its members.

769 They worship their ancestors and observe various fetish.
795 The chief priest lives at Kurmin Bi, and the second one to him
797 at Bunkua, but each group shares a common place of worship. Muhammadanism is penetrating amongst them. They are head-hunters.

582 A girl is betrothed at the age of seven, when the suitor gives
584 her father three chickens and 1s. Later on he again gives a hoe, a goat and 10s.; and on the wedding day, when she is about ten years old, pays a final contribution of four chickens.

583 A bag of cowries and two hoes are also an ordinary dower.

A form of capture of the bride is sometimes gone through, but the girl cannot be detained against her will, and the groom returns to give her father the customary presents. Ordinarily her parents take the bride to the groom's house, where he cuts up a goat and distributes its flesh amongst his guests, who then retire. The bride is not allowed the right of refusal, but no steps are taken against her if she leaves her husband. The man to whom she goes pays a further dowry to her parents.

[586] Marriage can be terminated on the repayment of all moneys given.
582 Consanguinity is an absolute bar. If a woman has already had a child, one horse is the price paid for her. Her first three
[436] children belong to her father, but can be redeemed by their own father for a bag of cowries and two goats each. Children are an acknowledged currency, a child of four years old does not command more than one goat.

846 A mother and her new-born child are washed in cold water
553 on the day of its birth. On the fourth day the mother takes her infant outside the house, where it is named in the presence of the women of the household. The father names a boy, the
[845] mother a girl, but the Elders of the village perform that function in the case of twins. They assemble for the purpose on the seventh day and partake of a feast, for which the father provides a goat and beer.

764 When a death occurs, women wail and horns are blown. The corpse is wrapped in a new mat of plaited palm-leaves and men carry it to the grave amid shouting, blowing and drumming, while the women and children remain indoors. The chief priest wishes the spirit of the dead and the bereaved family well, and the body is lowered into a grave shaped like a prayer board, either close to the porch of the house if the deceased had had children, otherwise outside under the shelter of the wall. The corpse is laid on its back, a man's face being turned towards the